/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
[249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, fiame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

•224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through
the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

/111/

*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115]

41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bõxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[142]

[244]
[222]
[224]
[284]

With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

M 411 /200 cont./
or Cêiba petándra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the M [224] dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 411 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea T [237] [824] settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary according to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of pataúá (30).

T [184] 30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T [177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T [531] Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers. The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T • [224] When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/201 cont./

411 *[192] Three types of arrows are distinguished: for hunting, for fishing, and the curabís or small darts for the sarabatana /blow-gun/.

• 224 411 a) For hunting. The arrows intended for large-scale hunting are heavy, made of brazilwood or pau-de-areo, with a point of wood, or more commonly of animal bone or of iron (32).

32. Before the relations with the civilized, they likewise used stone points, according to the account of Alexandre Ferreira, "Diário," 6th part.

The points /Port. pontas/ (of wood, bone, or iron) are embedded in a piece of wood called ponteira /an addition at the tip of something/, which is firmly tied to the body of the arrow with strings and pitch.

When the arrows are intended for birds and small game, they are of lighter wood and bear, on the end opposite the point, three arara wing feathers arranged in a spiral. In this manner the dart describes its trajectory by simultaneously making a rotating motion, which maintains its direction better.

*192 227 411 b) For fishing. For small fish common darts made entirely of paxiuba are used. For large fish (piraíba, pirarucú), alligators, and turtles, the point is of iron (or of bone) and laterally serrated, so that, once buried in the flesh, it cannot come out without dilacerating the tissue.

Those arrows that consist of two parts, staff and tip, are called sararaca (Nheengatú term which means: thing that comes apart). The tip, or suumba, is of strong wood (33),

33. They often use the paracôuba, one of the Leguminosae, further hardening the suumba on the fire.

/218 cont./

• 224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also
262 eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food are (49):

231

> 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed
[171] by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

/242 cont./

• 224

*[192]

b) Hunting.

1) Hunting by pursuit (amɨ̃ siró-tú pexkayesé).

The fauna of the Amazonian northwest is poor, in quality and quantity, in animals for eating. But hunting, besides providing food, is an enjoyable sport for the Indian. Poor as it is, hunting in the dense virgin forest can only be practiced by groups [177] of two or three Indians. Rarely will he go out alone, until very recently, when he obtained a shotgun from the civilized. With the shotgun or with the bow, the Indians are worthy /243/ hunters. He will also rarely go in large groups; this only when they locate in some zone a herd of wild pigs. Then they try to surround them, and with arrows and stabbing sticks /Port. paus terçados/ they kill a large number (72).

> 72. Not infrequently it happens that the herd of pigs, starving or attacked, attacks the men, who save themselves by quickly climbing the trees.

A man's treasured helpers in hunting are the dogs, small, skinny, and often almost blind because of the stings of the ants, taxi, but, perhaps for this very reason, with a more acute sense of smell.

[171] The Makú are specialized hunters. When they go to track the animal chased by the dogs, they make a lot of noise, with characteristic cries, and nothing, neither the cipos, thorns, nor other obstacles, is able to stop them.

*[192]

2) Hunting by ambush (pexkáye du'tigõ or pexkáye pe'sá-kõ).

The animals have their drinking places (73)

> 73. On the upper Tiquié, near the Cachoeira Grande, one sees a stone that the antas come to lick. The ground or stone with natural salts, and for this reason sought by the antas, deer, and other animals, is called "anta sucker."

/243 cont./

*192
• 224

where they go to drink water on hot days, just as they also have more or less customary places in the forest where they go to eat fruits. The footprints mark these spots, and they are accustomed to go to them at more or less regular times. Knowing this habit, the Indian builds kaxsá-wa (Nheengatú mutás (74)

> 74. A small burned-over area near the mutá attracts some deer with a desire to lick the ashes.

or platforms in the tree branches; this is the pexkaye pe'sá-kõ) in the vicinity of these places, and there they patiently stay in ambush without making any noise, or imitating the chirping of the birds that they want to kill. Or he will even stay on the ground hidden behind some tree; this is the pexkáye du'tyasé. As the animal approaches, he shoots a well-aimed arrow which will fatally hit the animal or at least will wound him, and, in this case, they pursue it until they kill it.

If the animal retires into a cave, they light a small fire, almost always with the nest of some termite, at the mouth of the cavern, and the heat and the smoke force it to come out, then being caught by the hunters.

3) Hunting by mundéu (pexkáye-sã-kõ).

The animals, especially when they have a burrow, customarily follow the same paths or carreiros in search of their food or water. Upon discovering one of these carreiros, the Indian makes a /244/ narrow and deep hole, being careful to transport the excavated soil farther away. Afterwards he again covers the cavity well with sticks, leaves, and rubbish, in such a way that it does not differ from the remaining track, and the mundéu, koxpé, is made. During the first nights the animal does not pass by there; later, however, it comes to fall in, and the Indian kills it. It sometimes happens that he forgets to go to look at the mundéu again, and he will find the animal already dead of starvation.

/244 cont./

*192
• 224

4) Hunting by trap (pexkáye-kõ yuró).

The method that they use for small animals, such as the cutia /agouti/ is simple. A strong, but flexible pole is planted in the ground. Sometimes they use bushes that already exist in the chosen location. They bend the free end, to which they fit a snare, tying it to sticks in the place where they foresee that the animal might pass, and the trap, yuró (Nheengatú žuká), is ready. When the animal tries to eat the bait left there, or even simply to pass through the snare, the pole is released violently, and the animal remains hanging by the leg. And thus it will stay until it dies, or it will be killed with blows of sticks.

[177]

Nowadays, instead of the snare, there is often a loaded shotgun that fires and kills the animal; it is the trap called pexkáye-wõ.

Trap for birds and small animals

5) Hunting by canoe.

Very frequently the deer and the anta throw themselves into the river, because they are being pursued by dogs or in order to look for food on the other bank. Then the hunters pursue them with their fast canoes, and they kill them with the oar, a stick, or machete. On some occasions they reach in this way large herds of queixadas /white-lipped peccary/ and kill them in large number.

/245/

• 224 373 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are [177] blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows. Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of * [423] [192] clearing, wexsé pá:kʉ̃rõ, is what gives them the ownership of the land while cultivating it.

[462] Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con- * [192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã̃, or black and somewhat humous, nã̃xkã̃ di'tá ʉ̃yʉ̃rõ.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have similar efficacy.

• [224] [226]

They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

*[192]

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75);

[514]

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

[832]

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca) to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.

789 824 *[192]

There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

[241]

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

[192] [304] [224] [226] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahikiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aünhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hübükokü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turü* (poison), another *pudjü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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773 From *K'ùwaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
[554] and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[614] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[574] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
[462] is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*duno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated [237] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaùeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 50, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*wekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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He brings home the hide for a trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahúkiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

GARDENING

I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

An important distinction between the labor of men and women is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time, leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast. Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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123 622 the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

501 Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

[171] The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot [293] section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

[412] Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

[224] He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for [412] water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

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Tukano hunting with blowpipe, [illegible] and arrows.

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to track wild animals in the forest and the sense of location and direction which enables him to do this. The deprivations of the jungle, its innate hostility, its snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants and insects, its daytime silence and oppressiveness are nothing to the fear of being lost. To be lost in the forest is slow, inevitable death. This is a fear which is common to the traveller, the explorer and the *cauchero*, but to the Indian does not exist. He may be forty miles from his *maloca*, yet he will know his way back without faltering, as the Cockney would know his way across London in the black-out, forty miles over half-tracks or no tracks at all, across deep ravines, balanced precariously on slippery logs. He will find his way, perhaps by a glimpse of the sun, the movement of birds overhead, or the track of a tapir. Between dawn and dusk, he has only his bag of cocaine to sustain his quick jogging walk.

During the time we passed in their *malocas* the Indians would often disappear in groups for hunting expeditions. Sometimes they would go at night and ask to borrow our torches to dazzle their prey. They carry hard *macana*-wood bows and sheaths of arrows tipped with curare, a black strychnine poison, or a long ten-foot blowpipe. Also beautifully-woven palm cases filled with poisoned darts secured in kapok, as though stuffed into a pin-cushion. These are slung across the back and carried upside down with the beeswaxed end uppermost, so as to prevent the rain washing off the curare and to enable the hunter to extract the dart quickly.

With the hunters go their dogs, thin wiry beasts like whippets, usually pale buff or fawn in colour and well cared for by their masters. Their lives are short, and more often than not they go totally blind within five years; for the tiny red *majiñal* fire-ants drop on their eyes as they run through the undergrowth and inject formic acid. There is seldom game near the *maloca*, but further afield, beyond the *chagras* in the forest proper there would usually be waterside rodents and *agouti*, small rabbit-like forest dwellers. There were peccary as well, the black jungle pig which the Indian fears because, if wounded, it sometimes cries for its companions who turn on the aggressor with their small sharp tusks and inflict terrible gashes. These small pigs are strangely affectionate and are sometimes adopted by Indians as pets.

Their bows, five feet long and strung with *cumare*, will launch an arrow two hundred feet, but to be certain of a target the Indian will approach to within twenty or thirty yards. The arrows, without feathers and unnotched, are made of cane, with a hard *macana*-wood point dipped in lethal curare. Some tribes carry a pot of this poison round their necks; when about to shoot, they dip an arrow in the black gum and cut the head just above the point with the razor-sharp tooth of a *piraña*. Thus the poisoned point will break off in the wound if the arrow falls out.

At that time we assumed that the Indians made their own poison, but we

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learnt many weeks later from a *cauchero* that there were specialists in this art. The Maku, he told us, are the expert curare makers in this area. They boil the scrapings of a liana together with two herbs, then strain the liquid through leaves and boil it again until it forms a black glutinous mass. This they place in small pots and trade it with other tribes, often for food and shelter; for the Maku are nomads. Though strychnine is always the base, various ingredients are occasionally added, from ants to putrefied animal remains. The most deadly poison, which was once reserved for human beings, is said to paralyse the victim in a matter of seconds.

The monkey is the most common of all the animals hunted for the pot. These are hung over a fire and smoked for days. The first time we were offered monkey, we were given the head, which we thought we were supposed to admire. But the brain, we learnt, is the greatest delicacy, like the head and eyes of a fish. The monkey often grips a branch as it dies, and for this reason the Indians would shoot many more than they ever managed to retrieve.

We never ventured to go with the Indians when they went hunting, as we would have made more noise than them and frightened the game. Moreover, we felt we could never keep up. One morning the children came to a *maloca* we were staying in to say that a *capybara* had strayed along the river bank close to where they had been bathing. Immediately an Indian picked up his bow and arrow and quickly made for the river. It was unusual for an animal to stray so close to the house and we followed at a distance hoping that we might see the hunt.

Half-crouched, with his bow and curare-tipped arrows gripped in his hand, he began to stalk the large water rat. Getting as close as he dared, he put the small beeswax quiver head down on the ground, with the arrow shafts upright. He placed one arrow in the bow. Twisting one leg around the shafts, his toes braced against the base of the quiver, he drew back the bow waiting for the *capybara* to move into the open, ready to take a second arrow from the sheath should the first miss. He held the bow fully stretched, crouched lower, hesitated for an instant, then released the arrow. The rodent rolled over without a sound. No second arrow was needed. That night we boiled the *capybara* which tasted like pork. The poison never taints the meat; it only affects the nervous system through the bloodstream.

The tapir is the largest of the forest mammals hunted by the Indian. It is the size of a cow, with a long snout, small eyes and slotted feet, and its only defence is camouflage. Speckled brown and black like the sun-dappled forest floor, when young, and turning to a dull slate-brown when fully grown, they gather at their watering places to drink. They were hunted relentlessly by the

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A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti *pebble stave.*

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early rubber gatherers, who on occasions would shoot dozens at a time, more for sport than to supply meat. They are now nearly extinct in many areas.

Having killed such a large animal the difficulty is to keep the meat. The *caucheros* build great platforms over the fires and smoke it for days. This is the only way it can be preserved. It is not possible to eat very much of the rich, sweet meat at a time, and the Indians believe that at certain times of the year it is bad to touch it, for it is almost inedible and causes skin blemishes. Though the Indian professes to despise tapirs, he nevertheless assigns human characteristics to them; he believes they dance, drink *chicha* and even build *malocas*. He also believes that by eating a particular animal he may acquire some of its characteristics. From a peccary he can gain faith and resolution, for the wild boar's habit of going to the rescue of a wounded companion has left an indelible impression on the Indians. Just as the puma is credited with human characteristics, the *agouti*, like the legendary African hare, is attributed wisdom and wit.

The blowpipe is of as much importance to the hunter as his bow and arrow. The Tukano make their pipes from a small palm. A length of from eight to ten feet is cut and allowed to dry. The pith is removed and an inner bore put into position and polished with tree roots. The outside is bound along its whole length with bark and covered with a resinous wax. A small pig-bone sight is fixed on one end and a hard wooden mouthpiece on the other. The Indian will travel through the forest all day long, looking for birds, small monkeys and squirrels, and carrying his match-thin ten-inch darts, perhaps thirty at a time, in wicker holders.

He constantly watches the trees overhead; he may suddenly see a parrot on a branch ahead of him. He moves forward slowly; if he can stand directly beneath the bird he has less difficulty in steadying his aim. He raises the pipe cautiously and places the cupped lower end over his mouth. He reaches behind with his free arm and draws a poison-tipped dart. Inserting it in the shaft with its cotton wad, he aligns the pig-bone sight on to the bird and inflates his cheeks. There is a barely discernible puff. Seventy feet over his head the parrot squawks, starts to fly, falters and crashes through the branches to the ground. Sometimes there are other birds near by and the Indian will kill three or four before he begins to look for them lying somewhere in the dense thickets, but he never loses one. Parrots are the most common target and the most easily approached, but unless cooked for many hours they are quite inedible. We would occasionally make a soup from them. Macaws, toucans and egrets are sought after, more for their feathers than as food. Pigeon, turkey, duck and geese are far more palatable; while frogs, snakes and various grubs, ants and beetles are considered delicacies.

ABOVE: *Preparing for the festival.* BELOW: *Bréo unpacks the festival feather head-dresses from their boxes.* [See p. 70-B]